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III.—*Studies in Latin Accent and Metric.*

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I. INTRODUCTION.

IN a former paper (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, 1903) I sought to show that in tribrach word-groups, the first word of which is a monosyllable, the accent receded upon the monosyllable, e.g. *séd erus*, *séd ego*, *híc equos*, and I have since shown (*A.J.P.*, No. 98 ff.) that this is regularly the case also in many dactylic word-groups of the same kind, such as *hóc facis*, *séd scio*, *á patre*.

The question at once arises,—What is the explanation of this striking phenomenon? Why does the accent recede so constantly in these groups? Although monosyllables are usually connected closely in pronunciation with the following word, it is evident that this fact alone is insufficient as an explanation, unless it can also be shown that the great majority of these groups follow some usual arrangement of words, some usual and preferred word-order. This proof I have attempted to supply by pointing out (*A.J.P.* XXV, 256 ff.) that groups like *híc homo*, *híc dies* follow the I.-Eur. traditional word-order by which the demonstrative pronoun immediately precedes the substantive, groups like *quíd agis*, *quód facis* the traditional order by which the object immediately precedes the verb, groups like *séd erus*, *séd ego* the traditional order by which the sentence-introducing conjunction immediately precedes the subject, and so on. The principle here involved is that, in every I.-Eur. word-order containing a monosyllable, so many frequent and usual phrases must arise like *quíd agis*, *quód facis*, etc., that a general type is eventually established to which the accent even of rare combinations is made to conform. Finally, there is some evidence to show that even in the case of poly-syllabic words a traditional order, such as that of object and

verb, sometimes admits in Plautus the recessive accent, e.g. *aquám velim*.

In the present paper I wish to show the influence of the traditional word-order still further by treating the accent of the conjunctions and pronouns in the Latin sentence. The numerous peculiarities of accent and metre which these parts of speech exhibit, have long been a cause of perplexity to Plautine scholars, and, with the notable exception of the treatment of the accentuations *illúm*, *istúm*, *ipsúm* by Skutsch, have usually been inadequately explained. I shall further discuss the accent in the traditional order adjective + noun, and finally, since recent accentual studies have considerably modified and, in some cases, seriously unsettled the views of Latin scholars in this field, I shall attempt to state concisely the general relation which appears to exist between word and verse-accent in Latin verse.

II. ACCENT OF CONJUNCTIONS.

The grammarians repeatedly assert that the conjunction *quando* is often accented *quandó* (Schöll, *De acc.*, p. 173 f.). In accordance with their favorite method they wish to make the difference of accent depend, it is true, upon a difference of meaning, and no two of them can agree just what this difference of meaning shall be. Nevertheless the original statement appears to be essentially correct, and is confirmed by the independent statement of Donatus (Ter. *Eun.* III, 1, 47) upon the accents *síquando*, *néquando*. Similar testimonies respecting the oxytonesis of other conjunctions (*igitur*, *quoniam*, *saltem*, *postquam*) are collected by Schöll, *l.l.*, 194 ff., 175. A monosyllabic sentence-introducing conjunction, as I have shown elsewhere (*A.J.P.* XXV, 259), regularly coalesces with the verb, e.g. *sí-scio*, *sí-volo*, and, by extension of this usage, sometimes with other parts of speech. We find three cases of a similar proclisis of *quando* in the critical feet of Plautine verse, viz. *Ba.* 224 *quandó* volt; *Cap.* 86 *quandó* res; *Men.* 664 *quando*⁴ quid.¹ In all these cases

¹ A numeral placed in the line denotes a foot of trochaic verse; below the line, a foot of iambic verse.

quando coalesces with a following monosyllable, just as the prepositions in the frequent combinations *proptér me*, *praetér spem*, and the like. When a preposition or conjunction coalesces with an iambic word, as in *proptér mare* (*Ru.* 34), *quandó sciet* (*Cap.* 406), *quandó lubet* (4 times¹), the resulting combination of spondee and iambus is regularly needed for making the verse-close, and this is the true explanation of its rare occurrence in the critical feet. Moreover, the proclisis of *quando* is not invariable; for we find *Am.* 1097 *quéndo satis* instead of *quandó satis*; cf. *Cap.* 886.²

With respect to the other polysyllabic conjunctions, an examination of the critical feet yields a similar result, viz. the proclisis of the conjunctions is admissible but not invariable.³ Thus we find in all fourteen examples of oxytone conjunctions, viz. two examples of *tamquam* (*Tri.* 913 *tamqua⁵m me*, where Ritschl writes unnecessarily *tam quam me*; *As.* 427 *tamquám si*); one of *etsi* (*Tri.* 527 *etsí sceléstus est*); one of *sicut*² (*Syr. Sent.* 39 *sicút fax*, *Ribb.*; ⁴ Meyer with one Ms.: *ita út fax*); three of *immo* (*Tri.* 427 *immó quas*; *Phor.* 644 *immó malum hérkle*; *Poe.* 151 *immó³ mihi*); three of *etiam* (*Mer.* 728 *etiám vis*; *Ad.* 279 *etiám³ maneo ótiosus*; *Syr. Sent.* 557 *etiám² querí*); two of *siquidem* (*Mi.* 624 *siquidé⁴m te*; *St.* 616 *siquidé⁴m mea*); one of *quidni* (*Mi.* 554 *quidní fateáre*); one of *quam obrem* (*Phor.* 715 *quam obrém² dem*); one perhaps of *postquam* (*Am.* 806 *postqua⁶m cenávimus*); two perhaps of *quia* (*Phor.* 162 *tíbi quiá super est*, cf. ⁶

¹ Serviceable examples of *quando* are collected by Schubert, *Temporalconjunctionen bei Pl.*, p. 16 ff.

² *Quando* might equally well be classed with the pronouns and pronominal adverbs treated below, i.e. *olím*, *inde*, *unde*, etc.

³ For this study I have used chiefly the dissertations of O. Brugman, *De iambico senario*, Bonn, 1874; Mohr, *De iambico ap. Pl. septenario*, Leipzig, 1873; Köhler, *De trochaicis septenariis Plaut.*, Halle, 1877; Podiaski, *De tetrametris iambicis et trochaicis Terent.*, Berlin, 1882; W. Meyer, *Beobachtung des Wortaccentes in d. altlat. Poesie*, München, 1884; Schrader, *De partic. -ne prosodia*, Strassburg, 1885; Ahlberg, *De procelesmaticis antiquae poesis Lat.*, Lund, 1900; Ritschl, *Proleg.* cap. xv; C. F. W. Müller, *Plaut. Prosodie*; Klotz, *Grundzüge*, etc.

Podiaski, *l.l.*, p. 12; *Ad.* 523 nísi quia⁸ propést; cf. *Tri.* 938 nísi quia² lubet).¹ Also, in the case of apparently broken dactyls with *atque* (*Tri.* 935 a⁴tque cuníla; *Men.* 508; *Mi.* 958; cf. *St.* 701 du¹mque se exórnat), the assumption of syncope is not necessary, but the proclisis of the conjunction is an alternative explanation; cf. the similar example with *sicut*, p. 45. From this survey I conclude that the oxytonesis of the conjunctions, which is asserted by the grammarians, is confirmed by the evidence of dramatic verse.²

III. ACCENT OF PRONOUNS.

As early as the time of Quintilian the ancient grammarians had noted the exceptional oxytonesis existing in the pronouns and derived adverbs (in adverbiis fere solis ac pronominibus, *Quint.* I, 5, 26), and similar statements are often made later, usually with an explanation drawn from the fatal *differentiae causa* method (Schöll, *l.l.*, 170 ff.). So far as concerns *illum*, *istum*, *ipsum*, a thoroughgoing oxytonesis of these pronouns is indicated by the derivative Romance forms, and has been justly vindicated for the Plautine period by Skutsch, *Forsch.*, p. 130 ff.³ Skutsch has also assumed that the oxytonesis first arose through the proclisis of the pronoun in such traditional orders as *illúm-patrem*, *illúm-videt*, and was subsequently extended beyond its original limits. This account is undoubtedly correct, so far as it goes, but the full logical consequences of the proclisis of *ille* are not developed by Skutsch. The phenomena to be discussed are curious enough, and if each one of them be studied separately, as

¹ Examples like quíd-igitu⁴r (*Mo.* 911; *Tri.* 333), with preceding mono-syllable, are not included in the above. For the frequent accentuation of *igitur*, *edepol*, also *aliter*, *aliā* upon the ultima in procelesmatici, v. Ahlberg, *Procl.* I, 33.

² Interesting also is the regular proclisis of the adverb in association with the adjective, e.g. *And.* 120 adeó-modésto, adeó-venústo, cf. the strict observance of Lachmann's law seen in *tm-citō* (*A.J.P.*, No. 100); *Ep.* 380 áliquantó³ lubéntiú.

³ A correct view was also taken by Conradt, *De vers. Terent. struct.*, Berlin, 1870, p. 20.

has hitherto been the case, they are of a kind to baffle the most practised investigator, but I hope to show that they form a simple and harmonious whole when studied together. Hence in order to exhibit the accentual and metrical peculiarities of the pronouns in full, I shall first take the pronoun cited by Quintilian, viz. *quális* or *qualís*, and illustrate its uses theoretically. A pronoun like *qualis* occurs as a proclitic chiefly in two traditional word-orders, viz. pronoun + noun, as *qualis homo*, *quales senes*, and object or subject + verb, as *quales videt*, *qualis erat*; more rarely in simple extensions or variations of the orders just named. By saying that *qualis* is a proclitic in such cases, I mean that it coalesces in pronunciation and in accentuation with the following word, and that the pause which falls after most words (and which may be termed the word-end), very largely vanishes in the case of the pronoun; in short, pronominal combinations like those just named are commonly treated in Latin as quadrisyllabic words, and accented *qualis-homo*, *qualés-senes*, *qualés-videt*, *qualis-erat*. The consequences that flow from this cardinal fact, that no full word-end falls after the Latin pronouns and pronominal adverbs, are fivefold.

A. Although the accentuation of a spondaic word upon the ultima is not permitted in the critical feet, pronominal combinations like *qualés senes*, *qualés videt* enter these feet freely.

B. Although the accentuation of a trochaic word upon the ultima is very strictly forbidden in the critical feet, pronominal combinations like *qualis homo*, *qualis erat*, *undé venis* are admitted freely.

C. Although it is forbidden in all feet, except the first foot of a colon,¹ to separate by a word-end the two shorts composing the thesis of a trochaic dactyl, yet dactyls like *quális hōmō*, *quális ērát*, *úndē vénis* are admitted freely, since the division of the two shorts is for the most part only apparent; cf. the case of prepositions, as in *próptēr āmórem*, *íntēr īstás*.

D. The Lachmann-Ritschl law, which forbids a foot to be

¹ I shall use henceforth the term 'first foot' freely of the first foot of a colon, i.e. of either the first or the fifth foot.

filled by a dactylic word-form, is waived in favor of all the dactylic pronominal forms, viz. *haecine*, *istucine*, *sicine*, etc., *illius*, and largely also in favor of the similarly used adjectival forms, *omnia*, *omnibus*, *omniūm*.

E. The initial syllable of *ambō*, *omnis*, *ecquis*, *eiūs*, *huiūs*, etc., as well as of *illé*, *isté*, *ipsé* (cf. also *etsí*, *ergó*), being now unaccented, is freely shortened after a Brevis Brevians (for examples of this well-known use, cf. Klotz, *Grundz.*, p. 46 f.; Ahlberg, *De corrept. Plaut.*, p. 69 ff.).

The evidence in support of these uses will be presented in order:

A. OXYTONESIS OF SPONDAIC PRONOUNS.—Exclusive of the very numerous cases of *illúm*, *istúm*, *ipsúm* (Skutsch, *Forsch.*, p. 132 ff.), also *olím* (*And.* 221), *huiūs* (*Poe.* 389), etc., we find in the critical feet thirty-seven examples of the oxytonesis of the spondaic and anapestic pronouns *haecin* (1), *quantus* (4), *ecquis*¹ (4), *numquis* (3), *siquis* (4), *quisquam* (1), *aliquis* (3), *alius* (2), *ullus*, *nullus* (2), *idem* (2), *noster*, *voster* (3), *omnis* (4), *ambo* (1), perhaps also *vobis* (2). To this number we should add eight examples of oxytone pronouns with *res*.

Haccin: *Ad.* 379 *haecín[e]* flagítia, cf. 408; cf. *Au.* 746 *ístaci²n te orátione*; *As.* 932 *ístoscí²ne patré*; — *quantus*: *Hau.* 1013 *quantu⁵m malí*; *Per.* 517 *quantu⁴m tu*; *Cap.* 51 *quantí* sunt; *Ad.* 700 *quantu⁵m potést* (a frequent phrase which Pl. always needs for the verse-close (eleven times), except once (*Am.* 971), but which Ter. places more freely); very exceptional is *Poe.* 534 *qua⁵ntum ve⁶lis*, corrected in ed. mai. to *quántum ví*; — *ecquis*: *Per.* 108 *ecquíd meminísti*; *Ps.* 482 *ecquám scis*; *Au.* 16 *ecquí² maiórem*; *Phor.* 474 *ecquíd spéi* (iamb. oct.); — *numquis*: *Cur.* 516 *numquíd vis*; *Hec.* 272 *numquíd vis* (iamb. sep.); *And.* 235 *numquíd nam haec túrba*; — *siquis*: *And.* 258 *siqui⁶s nunc mé roget*; *Ad.* 941 *siquíd te máius óret*; *Ci.* 111 *siqui⁴d tibi ópus est*; *Ep.*

¹ I assume throughout that the first syllable of *ecquid*, *quidquid*, *nequid*, *numquid*, *siquid*, etc., is long; for precisely as the existence of *némpe* is disproved by the non-occurrence of *némpe* with elision, so the existence of *écquid* is disproved by the non-occurrence of *écqu(a)*, *écqu(em)*, etc.

449 siquid² vis, cf. *Am.* 453; Terentianus Maurus 2288 siquis³ velít (incomplete collection). Only in the first foot of a colon do we find *And.* 333 síquid po⁵tes; *Poe.* 1200 quicquid sápit; — *quisquam:* *Au.* 76 quicquám meliúst mihi; cf. *Mer.* 1021 neu quisqua²m posthac; cf. *Cap.* 346; — *aliquis:* *And.* 957 aliquís fors[itan] mé putét; *Hau.* 752 aliquót diés; cf. *Ad.* 509 in-aliquód magnúm malum, cf. *Ru.* 575 in-aliquo⁴ tibi, and, for examples of aliquid boni (mali) in non-critical feet, v. Lodge, *Lex. Pl.*, p. 93; — *alius:* *Tri.* 458 aliúd vis; *And.* 189 aliám vitam áffert; — *nullus, ullus:* *Poe.* 991 nullús me est; cf. *Cap.* 91 nullúm perículúmst (quadrисyllabic word in verse-close); *Men.* 594 ullu⁶m tenéri vídi; cf. *Eþ.* 497 ullá pecúnia; — *idem:* *Am.* 447 ide⁵m sum; cf. 808 in-eode⁴m lectó; — *noster, voster:* *Phor.* 609 nostér Chremés; cf. *Am.* 221 nós nostrás móre (cretic); *Eu.* 418 di vestrám fidem: hóminem (a frequent phrase, which is elsewhere always utilized for the verse-close (sixteen times) in Pl. and Ter., cf. Brugman, *I.I.*, p. 30); cf. *Ci.* 550 filiám nostrám sustóllere (quadrисyllabic word); cf. *Cap.* 15; cf. also *Am.* 356 horu⁴nc servós sum; — *omnis:* *Eu.* 1092 omne⁵s amárent (subject); *Mo.* 192 di deáequé omnés me péssumís exémplis ínterfíciant (often corrected, cf. Mohr, *I.I.*, p. 19); *Hau.* 26 omnés vos óratós voló; cf. *Am.* 1013 ápid omni⁶s aedís sacrás; add *omném rem, omnés res* (*Cas.* 506; *Hec.* 194; *Ad.* 364; *Lucil.* XXVIII, 10; *Hec.* 738; 483) and, in the case of other pronouns, *tantám rem* (*Tri.* 682), *aliás res* (*Hec.* 826), *ipsá re* (*And.* 359; *Hau.* 266), etc. A general or indefinite ‘enclisis of *res*,’ such as is sometimes assumed (Klotz, *Grundz.*, p. 324, and *Bursian's Jahresb.*, 1883, p. 427), seems improbable; — *ambo:* *Ad.* 131 ambós curáre; cf. *Ru.* 1104 hasce amba²s ut; — perhaps *tibi* and *vobis:* *As.* 654 tibí-dabó (double iamb. in colon-close); cf. *Per.* 847 vobís dabo (iamb. sep., acc. to Ritschl, cf. Mohr, *I.I.*, p. 18, but anap. oct., acc. to recent edd.); *Per.* 855 vobís do (iamb. dim. cat., cf. Mohr, *I.I.*, p. 24).

A similar oxytonesis may be proved for the iambic pronominal forms *eum*, *eo*, *meum*, *meo*, *tuom*, *utrum*, etc. Thus these forms are often (nine times) found in the third foot of the senarius (Brugman, *l.l.*, p. 10 ff.), as *Tri.* 794 *eás resígnatás* sibi; *Ci.* 568; *Tru.* 85; *Tri. arg.* 6; *Mi.* 484; *Turp. com. fr.* 130; *And.* 442 (³*eám rem*); *Tru.* 656 (³*meó*); *Ba.* 344 *utrúm* *velím* (an apparent double iamb., which Ritschl, *Prol.* ccxviii, would emend). Similarly we find *eúm* in apparent double iamb. verse-closes, as *Am.* 991 *eúm-sequór*; *Men.* 880 *átque eám-meáe*¹; perhaps also *Naev. trag. fr.* 13 *meá-manú* | *moriáre*, where R.³ needlessly corrects: *mea móriarís manú*.

B. OXYTONESIS OF TROCHAIC PRONOUNS.—We find in the critical feet thirty-five examples of the oxytonesis of the trochaic pronouns *ille*, *illā* (8), *illīc* (4), *iste* (1), *unde* (2), cf. *tute*, *haecin* (3), *ecquis*, *quisquis*, *siquis* (13), *nostrā* (1), *omnis* (1?), *quisque* (3).

Examples, in the critical feet, of *illé quidem* (*Ba.* 103; *Mer.* 540; *Mo.* 375; *St.* 561; *Phor.* 754) and *illīc homo* (*Ep.* 666; *Men.* 992; *Mi.* 334; *Ru.* 1297) are cited by Luchs, *Comm. pros.* II, 4, and *Hermes*, VI, 279, respectively; *istīc homo* (*Ep.* 488) and *nullūs homo* (*Ba.* 808) occur in the extant literature only in the first foot. Further, the well-known Latin word-orders, by which the demonstrative pronouns and

¹ In connection with the last example, which is explained by the regular order of the pronouns (p. 41), I wish to deny emphatically that the preceding elision, as in *atqu(e)*, justifies or explains the double iamb., in the irrational manner assumed by Klotz, *Grundz.*, p. 245 f. In such assumed cases the double iamb. is justified only when a monosyllable, which forms part of a word-group, is really not elided at all, even in thesis, as *Hec.* 495 *quō-abis?* adés; *Poe.* 290 *sé-amét potést*. These cases are then quite similar to the well-known *děhórtarí* (*Poe.* 674), *dě hórdeo* (*As.* 706), *cum ístac* (*Cas.* 612), on which v. Klotz, *Grundz.*, p. 139 f., and Skutsch, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1894, p. 139 f.; cf. also examples in Lucilius and the Augustan poets, as *Hor. S.* 1, 9, 38 *sí mě-amás*; 2, 2, 28 *nūm adést*, etc. (L. Müller, *R. M.²* 371 ff.). Other examples of the double iamb. in Klotz, *l.l.*, as *Poe.* 447 *quando amór iubét*, are probably to be referred to some form of the traditional order (subject + verb).—The view which I have here defended against Klotz is, as I have since noted, also the view of Luchs himself, who writes of just such cases (*Studem. Stud.* I, 18): In his enim versibus pes paenultimus non continetur iambo, sed anapaesto, quod cum hiatu semper pronuntiandum est: *sé amét, qui hábét*.

adverbs immediately precede possessive pronouns and oblique cases of personal pronouns (Kämpf, *Pronom. Personal.*, pp. 27, 30 ff., 35), give rise to the accents *illé-mihi*, *undé-tibi*, etc.; e.g. *Ad.* 139 *isté tuos*; *Cas.* 631 *unde⁴ meae*; *Ep.* 179 *illá mihi* (cf. Skutsch, *Forsch.* 136), and cf. *Mer.* 451; *Ad.* 457 (first foot); cf. *St.* 133 *ille² meus* (cf. Skutsch, *I.I.*, 118); cf. also *Cap.* 461 *ipse³ sibi.¹* In association with the verb, *ille³* repréhéndit, *Tri.* 624, happens not to fall within the critical feet, but Commodianus, who observes the accent in the close of his hexameters, writes *Inst.* I, 35, 15: *unde⁵ licet ille* (Hanssen, *Dissert. Phil. Argent.* V, 24),² cf. the adverb *undélibet*. The developed oxytonesis is seen in *Tru.* 309 *ille⁶ meretrículis*; note further that no example of *unde* or *inde rédis* (dissyllabic verb) occurs in the dramatists, but *unde rédeam* (trisyllabic verb) occurs repeatedly (*Tri.* 937; *Eu.* 11; *Mo.* 865; *Hec.* 377). Examples of oxytonesis in the first foot are very frequent, e.g. *Cas.* 432 *ut illé trepidábat*, *Poe.* 620 *et illé chlamydátus* (cf. Seyffert, *Bursian's Jahresb.*, 1894, p. 282), *St.* 24 *neque illé sibi méreat* (cf. Skutsch, *I.I.*, 118, n. 2), where the procelesmatici, as usual, follow closely the grammatical accent³; very doubtful, however, is *St.* 175 *quia indé iam á pausílo* (*ed. min.*: *quia inde iam á*); *Ps.* 503 *illúd erat*; *Lucil.* XXIX, 43 M. *tum illúd ἐπιφώνει*; doubtful is *As.* 123 *nam illúd ego* (so *ed. mai.*; *ego illud* MSS.); *Cas.* 932 *indé foras*; *Poe.* 1055 *indé sum oriúndus*; — *tuté tibi* *Cap.* 371, *Ci.* 563, *Cur.* 9, hence also *Per.* 573 *tute³ tibi*; — for still other examples, cf. Ahlberg, *De corrept. Pl.*, p. 50, n. 1, and Luchs, *I.I.*

Haecin and *haecine*: *Hec.* 771 *haecíne east*; *ib.* 282 *haecíne ego vítam* (resulting from the traditional word-order, which attaches other pronouns to the sentence-introducing pronouns,

¹ This accent is not, however, wholly invariable, e.g. *Eu.* 819 *istuc mīhi*, and in the first foot: *Poe.* 355; *ib.* 2; *Ci.* 561 *unde tibi*; v. other examples in Kämpf, *I.I.*, 29.

² This may possibly be the true explanation of the accents *déinde*, *périnde*, *éxinde* prescribed by the grammarians (Schöll, *I.I.*, p. 192), i.e. *déindé*, etc.; so perhaps *St.* 545 *deindé sénex*, rather than *déinde sénex*.

³ Hence I cannot accept the view of Ahlberg, *Procl.* I, 34, 110.

cf. Kämpf, *LL.*, pp. 31, 36); cf. *Phor.* 1013 *haeci²ne erat éa*. Hence it is apparently largely due to accident, or rather to the natural position of the sentence-introducing pronouns in the beginning of the verse, that examples of this kind occur chiefly in the first foot, viz. *And.* 186 *hocíne agis*; *Eu.* 99 and *Ad.* 128 *sicíne agis* (cf. *ídagis*, *hóc-agis*, *síc-agis*); *Hau.* 203 *huncíne erat*; *Eu.* 771 *hancíne ego*. Similarly it is apparently accidental that *hancíne ego* occurs in Pl. only in anap. verse (*Ru.* 188, 189). We may perhaps, if we wish, assume always for Pl. the syncopated forms *haecin*, etc., though this is going much beyond the available evidence (cf. Schrader, *LL.*, p. 10 ff., and the numerous examples there cited), but in any case there can be no serious objection, on the score of accentuation, to examples like *Mo.* 26 *hocínemodó* (cf. *hócmodo*); 27 *hocíne-boni*; *Tru.* 719 *híci¹ne tu erás*; *Am.* 514 *hocí¹ne placet*; *As.* 128 *hòcíne preti*, etc. (cf. also Spengel on *Ad.* 183).

Equis, numquis, quisquis, siquis: *Poe.* 364 *ecqui⁶d ais*; cf. *Cas.* 913 and 914 *nisi quidqui²d erat*; — always *siquíd agis*: *Ep.* 196; *Mi.* 215; *Per.* 659; *St.* 715; 717; *Tri.* 981; — cf. *Phor.* 553 *siqui²d opis*; *Au.* 193 *siqui⁶d opus*; *As.* 117 *siquíd opus*; *Ad.* 877 *ecqui⁶d ego*. Often in other feet, especially the first, as *Au.* 653 *quicqui³d habes*; *Poe.* 505 *quicqui⁵d agit*; *Cas.* 456 *ecquíd amas*; *Eu.* 475 *numquíd habes*; — *quicqui⁵d erat*, etc.: *Per.* 46; 47; *Ru.* 58; 1308, cf. *nullús erat*, *Ru.* 1253; — *Men.* 439 *siqui⁵d ego*; *Eu.* 523 *ecqui¹s eam*; *As.* 559 and *Mo.* 416 *sicút ego*; cf. *Mi.* 1206 *quo mo³do ego*. In short, if we take a trisyllabic word (verb or pronoun) like *inerit* and a dissyllabic word like *erit*, we shall always find in the one case the accent *quídquid ínerit* (*Ru.* 1134), in the other the accent *quidquíd erit* (*quídquid erít*). This accentuation long continued in use, e.g. *Sen.* *Oed.* 263 *quidqui¹d ego*; *Rufinus* 341 G. *quidqui¹d agis* (quoted by Ribb., *Com. Frgm.*² cii).¹ In a former discussion (*Trans.*

¹ Ribb.³ accents quite needlessly *quídquid pla³cet*, *Caecil. fr.* 148; recomposition is perhaps first attested for the Christian poetry, e.g. *Et quídquid mícat síderis* (Königsfeld, *Lat. Hymn.* I, 32).

Am. Phil. Assoc. XXXIV, 84) I assumed with Ritschl and other critics the divisibility of compounds like *ecquid* into their constituent parts, *i.e.* *ec quid ego*, but this is a desperate remedy, as Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus*, p. 31, n. 3, and Ahlberg, *Procel.* I, 81, have already observed, and is improbable for the period of Pl. or Sen. At the most, the pronunciation might be derived from an earlier formative period, when the two monosyllables were still independent, *i.e.* *ec-quíd-ego*, hence *ecquídego*; but even this assumption is unnecessary, and no reason exists for separating the treatment of *ecquid* and *quidquid* from that of other pronouns.

Nostra, omnis (?), *quisque*: *St.* 741 *nostrā⁴* placet; perhaps *Tri.* 329 *měúmst*, *omne⁶* *meum autém tuómst*, — so Schöll in ed. mai., but the ed. min. retains the reading of A, etc., and scans *měúmst*, *ómne měú⁶mst autém tuom*; *Ep.* 214 *suís quaeque⁶* | *amatóribus* (ed. mai. *quaeque sibi*); so the phrase *suo quique loco* (also *suo quicque loco*, *St.* 62; cf. Prehn, *Pronom. Indef.*, p. 11) is always accented *suó quique loco*, viz. *Mo.* 254 (troch.²), *St.* 62 (tr.³), *Poe.* 1178 (anap.⁸), *Titin. com. fr.* 130 (tr.⁴, acc. to Müller, *Pl. Pr.*, p. 61, but Ribb.³ scans as anap., *quíque locó*); cf. *St.* 693 *suóm quemque²* *debet*, and also *Au.* 732 *quoí tanta² mala*.¹

C. APPARENT DIVISION OF TROCHAIC DACTYL.—Exclusive of the first foot, we find thirty-four examples of a divided dactyl, such as *quisquis homó*, with *illīc, ille, unde, inde* (10), cf. *hasce* (2), *haecin, sicin, istūcin, tute* (4), *qualis, omnis, quisquis, ecquis, numquis, siquis, quisque* (18), and apparently many more with *huius, eius, quoius*.²

¹ In addition to the pronouns, the proclisis and oxytonesis of *esse* (cf. Skutsch, *Forsch.* 136, n. 1) and *hercle* have been established in certain word-orders; thus *Ba.* 83 *vóles esse⁴ tibi*; *St.* 716 *vides esse⁸ tibi*, and, in Ter., cf. *Hec.* 398 *esse⁸:* *scio*; *Au.* 40 *herclé tibi*; hence the frequent shortening seen in these words after a Brevis Brevians. Also in the case of pred. adj. + copulative verb: proclisis has perhaps been known, viz. *Poe.* 1194 *pulcrá vidére*; *Ru.* 218 *servá forem*, or *servá forem* (so B). Some of the other cases of oxytone trochees quoted by Klotz, *Grundz.*, p. 239 ff., may also be genuine.

² The admissibility of the broken dactyl in general has been discussed especially by Müller, *Pros. Nachtr.*, p. 12 ff.; Leo, *Forsch.*, p. 236 ff.; Ahlberg, *Procel.* I, 14 ff.; Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus*, p. 26 ff.

Examples of *ille quidém* (twice within the verse: *Ep.* 673; *Mo.* 1081) and *illic homó* (once within the verse: *Tru.* 593; sixteen times in first foot) are cited by Luchs, *Comm. Pros.* II, 4, and *Hermes*, VI, 278, respectively; cf. also Skutsch, *Forsch.* 115. Since the sentence-introducing pronouns are placed especially in the verse-beginning, it is probably due only to accident that we find examples of the similar combinations *iste quidém* (*Mer.* 945), *ille senex* (*Mer.* 446; *St.* 559), *ípsus homó* (*Tri.* 1070), *équis homó* (*Mo.* 354); cf. *sérvos homó* (*St.* 58; 442; for the combination v. Asmus, *De appositionis collocat.*, p. 18) only in the first foot. Again, while I accept with Skutsch the *weakening* of the final syllable of *ille, inde* (also of *hocin, quidquid*, etc.), in sequences where it is regularly unaccented, I do not admit any need of this explanation (Skutsch, *I.I.*, 110 f., 81) in cases like *Ba.* 281 *illé mihi* (cf. *illá mihi, illé meus*, etc., above); *Am.* 660 *i⁸lle revortitūr*; *Hau.* 197 *immo illē fūt̄ senex íportúnus* (cf. also Ahlberg, *Procel.* I, 110); *Cas.* 903 *índe voló*; *St.* 67 *i⁸nde vocátote*; *Poe.* 902 *i⁸nde surrúptus*; *Per.* 150 *únde surrúpta*, not to mention the numerous cases occurring in the first foot, as *únde lubét* (*Ep.* 144), *illé iubébit* (*Mi.* 1192), or *illé misérrumum* (*Mi.* 713). Even *hásce tabéllas* (*Ba.* 787), *hásce corónas* (*Au.* 385) admit of some defence; for, although *Pl.* never allows the particle *-ce* in these pronouns to have the full value of a mora and so to form the whole thesis (Schmidt, *De pronom. demonstr. form. Plautinis*, p. 16 ff.), he may well have allowed this particle to form part of the swift thesis of the ‘cyclic’ dactyl; cf. *Tri.* 186 *hascé mihi* (acc. to A and *ed. min.*).

Haecin, siccin, istucin, tute: And. 236 *hócinest ófficiúm*; *Per.* 42 *si⁸cine hoc té*; *Eu.* 830 *istúcine intérminata*; *Tri.* 386 *tu⁸te concflies* (unnecessary is *tut'* with Skutsch, *Forsch.* 151); numerous examples for the first foot, as *Phor.* 1012 *hae¹cine eránt*; *Eu.* 804 *si¹cine agís* (cf. *hae¹cine erat*, etc., above, p. 42); *Poe.* 512 *si¹cine opórtet*,

are quoted by Müller, *Pros.*, p. 441 ff., and Schrader, *l.l.*, p. 17 f.¹

Qualis, omnis, quisquis, equis, si quis, quisque: *Hec.* 766 qua⁴lis sim amicus (the insertion, in accordance with Wackernagel's law, of an 'enclitic' in the second position does not affect the connection); *Cap.* 536 ómnis in íncertó; *Am.* 309 qui²squis homo húc; *Ps.* 713 qui²dquid opúst; *Men.* 772 sed quícquid id est (bacch.; needlessly corrected in *ed. min.*); *Mi.* 311 qui²cquid ēst; *Tri.* 218 quídquid audítum; *Ps.* 740 e⁶cquid habét; — écquis hōc áperit óstium as verse-close: *Ba.* 582, *Am.* 1020, *Cap.* 830; — ⁴*Ba.* 581 ecquis [his] in aélibust; *Tru.* 839 si⁶quis eúm; *St.* 182 síquis me essúm; *And.* 258 si⁶quis nunc mé; *Au.* 340 síquid utí; *Ep.* 729 si³quid imprúdens; *As.* 326 qui³dque derórito. Often in the first foot, as *Tri.* 655 and *Ru.* 1100 ómnia ego ístaec; *Ru.* 1359 ómnia ut; *Hec.* 287 ómne quod; *Ru.* 1121 qui⁵dquid ibíst; *Ep.* 677 and *Hau.* 961 quídquid egó; *Ep.* 293 númquid ego sibi; *Poe.* 506 sícūt ego hós; *St.* 576 néquid ádvéniens; — écquid agís *Au.* 636, *Ep.* 688, *Ci.* 643; — écquid amás *Tru.* 542, *Poe.* 327; — *Ci.* 67 síquid est quód; *Ep.* 647 síquid erít; etc.² (cf. Ahlberg, *l.l.*, p. 80).

¹ I have purposely not quoted examples like *Mi.* 61 hicine Achilles; *Phor.* 992 hīcine ut tibi. The long quantity of the first syllable of *hicine* (pronoun) is very doubtful, and is not proved, as Müller, *l.l.*, thinks, by the iamb. sep. *Ad.* 709 hic nón amándus? hīcine nón-gestándus, since no diaeresis necessarily falls after a monosyllable, as I shall show more fully elsewhere. On the other hand, the quantity in *hōcine*, *hæcine*, *sīcine* is often attested.

² Among other cases of the broken dactyl which appear to be justified by the regular word-order, I would specify the following: 1) the phrases composed of a pred. adj. + incedo, like *Mi.* 897 ornátus incédit (also *As.* 405; *Ba.* 1069; *Mer.* 600; *Poe.* 577); cf. *Mer.* 887 amicus advénio. This combination has the same value as adv. or adj. + copula, as *Poe.* 922 íntus-ero ódio; cf. also *Cap.* 321 únicús-sám. 2) Common alliterative phrases, or combinations of related words, viz. *Ps.* 704 trína triplícia; *Mer.* 385 amicus amícis, similarly *Mi.* 660; Pomponius fr. 145; cf. also *Ba.* 401 cómmodüs íncommodás. Cf. the not very different view which Leo takes of these combinations, *Forsch.*, p. 244, and observe that in etymological phrases like *amicus amicis the order is fixed*, i.e. 'nominativus casus obliquos praecedit' (Kellerhoff, *Studem. Stud.* II, 58 f.). 3) Perhaps adj. or gen. + noun, viz. *Men.* 268 mágnum amátor (P; A mag.); *Accius fr.* 501 hórrida honéstítulo;

Huius, eius, quoius: These forms, instead of being always taken as monosyllabic, ought probably often to receive their regular scansion as dissyllables in the very numerous cases like *Cap.* 887 *quo³ius erát tunc*; *St.* 545 *quo⁵ius erát tibícina*; *Ru.* 52 *éius eránt*; 1204 *éius amátiost*; see the examples collected by Ahlberg (*De corrept. Pl.*, pp. 84–90), whose conclusions probably require some modification at this point.¹

D. ADMISSION OF DACTYLIC PRONOMINAL FORMS.—Exclusive of the first foot, we find about twenty-nine examples of a foot filled by the dactylic pronominal forms *haecine*, *istaecine*, *illaecine* (7), *illius* (20), *omnia*, *omnibus* (2).

Haecine, istaecine, illaecine: *Poe.* 1166 *haécine meaé sunt*; *Ps.* 83 *istócine pácto*; 847 *ista³cine caúsa*; *Ru.* 110 *istícine vós*; *Tru.* 537 *ho²cine míhi*; 606 *istúcine míhi*; *Hau.* 751 *illáncine múlierem*. The examples quoted above (p. 44) of *hocine*, etc., with elision, *i.e.* *hócinest ófficium*, show clearly that the problem presented by *hóčňe* without elision is not solved by the assumption which is sometimes made (Klotz, *Grundz.*, p. 308; Ahlberg, *Procel.* I, 20, 112), that the final syllable of this form was always syncopated in pronunciation; besides, this assumption of constant syncope after a short vowel appears to be unwarranted (Schrader, *ll.*, 10, 14). For the frequent occurrence of *haécine* and similar forms in the first foot, see Schrader, *ll.*, 10.

Illius: *Hau.* 367 *íllius ánimum*; *Ad.* 261 *íllius ópera*; 722 *íllius ádulescentis*; 572 *i²lli¹us hóminis*, and more generally

Enn. tr. fr. 40 *virginális modéstia*; *And.* 857 *tri¹stis sevéritas*; *As.* 509 *ma¹tris impérium*; *St.* 432 *frátris ancíllum*. In most of the common phrases so far quoted, the elision of final *s* before an initial vowel, which Leo advocates (*Forsch.* 229 ff.), may also afford an explanation. 4) Inf. + auxiliary verb, viz. *Ps.* 1182 *fre licébit* (cf. *ilicet*); *Ru.* 112 *éssē decét*; *Ep.* 573 *ferre iubés*. Cf. *esse-vult* used as equivalent of a trisyllabic word in verse-close not only often in *Pl.*, but also in *Syr. Sent.* A 51, and *dare-vis* placed in the pentameter-close by so perfect a master of technique as Martial (7, 75, 2); cf. also *dare-nescit*, *Syr. Sent.* 46, the only divided anapest, according to Meyer, *ll.*, p. 27, which *Publilius* admits in the third foot.

¹ The view that *huius*, *eius*, etc., may also be pyrrhics, advocated, so far as I know, only by Exon, *Hermathena*, XI, 208 ff., does not seem probable.

Ep. 717 ^{i²lli}us invenísse; 447 illius ³illae; for other examples, see Leo, *I.I.*, 290 ff., Ritschl, *Opusc.* II, 678 ff., and Ahlberg, *De corrept. Pl.*, p. 91 ff. The proclisis of *ille* is, in fact, so far developed that there is no diaeresis in the iamb. sep., *Mi.* 1231 quámquam illúm-multaé sibi éxpetéssunt, and this is the real explanation of this much-discussed verse. The scansion *ill̄us* which I have here assumed has been successfully vindicated for Pl., in my judgment, by Ritschl and Leo,¹ although the scansion *ill̄is* must also be admitted for a few examples like *Phor.* 648 míttam illi¹us inéptiás. — *Omnia, omnibus, omniūm:* *Tru.* 447 ómnia ⁴quí; *Am.* 55 ómnibus ⁴ísdem. Often in the first foot, viz. *Mi.* 1148; *Poe.* 834; 905; *St.* 114; 336; 526; 684; *Tri.* 933; *Hec.* 380; *Ad.* 971. Several of these examples are of the type ómnia génera (*Poe.* 834); in the case of dissyllabic words, however, accents like ómniá mea (*Hau.* 575; *Phor.* 248), ómniá bona (*Hau.* 942) possibly correspond sometimes to the actual pronunciation.

While proclitic tendencies exist in all the pronouns, they have not necessarily been developed in all to the same extent. The proclisis is most nearly complete in *ille, iste, ipse*, and an accent *ille-sénex, istuc-ágō* is probably nearly as exceptional as *altrimsécus* (*Ps.* 357) or *amabilis* (*St.* 737); thus *illic hómō* occurs twice (*Ep.* 45 = troch.⁶; 671 = troch.²) against twenty-four cases of *illíc homo* and *illíc homó*. Pl. and Ter. have only *istúc-agó*, — twice within the verse (*Tri.* 819; *Eu.* 349), four times in verse-close (*As.* 358; *Ba.* 708; *Hau.* 346; 558); *sciō* is as frequent in the dramatists as *sciō*, yet we find only once *tantúndem sciō* (*Per.* 517) against eight cases of *illúm-sciō*, *illúc-sciō*, etc. (*Am.* 922; *Men.* 246; *Per.* 161; *Poe.* 1028; *As.* 869; *Mi.* 236; *Tru.* 811; *St.* 474). Many combinations, however, vary, cf. *Eu.* 536 *istuc íta*, and while Pl. regularly accents *tuté tibi* (four times; on the order, cf. Seyffert, *Philol.* XXV, 459 f.), *tuté t̄²bi* seems the correct scansion in *Men.* 111^b.

We have seen in this investigation that the proclisis and

¹ Against Luchs, *Studem. Stud.* I, 319 ff.

oxytonesis of the pronouns as a class, which the ancient grammarians strongly attest, is confirmed in every possible way by the evidence of dramatic verse,¹ and we have found at the same time, as I hope, an explanation for several phenomena of the verse which have hitherto remained unexplained. Since the study of the pronouns is the main object of this paper, my treatment of the topics which remain will be brief.

IV. ACCENT OF ADJECTIVES.

Although the I.-Eur. word-order, adjective or genitive + substantive, is very imperfectly preserved in Latin, we might, perhaps, expect to find that it had exerted some influence upon the Latin accent. The critical feet offer, however, very few direct evidences of recession at this point, and we find hardly more than half-a-dozen certain examples of a recessive accent like *rectā via* in the critical feet. Yet the rare occurrence of such an accent may be explained as due in part to the structure of the verse. Thus, to take illustrations from the structure of the senarius, the combination of spondee and iambus which is found in *recta via*, needs, as a rule, to be utilized for the verse-close, and this fact of itself would largely prevent its occurrence in the critical feet. Again, the combination cannot be placed without elision in the second foot, since it would then produce an inadmissible conflict in the third, *i.e. rectā viā*, nor can it be placed without elision in the fourth, since it would then introduce an iambus into the fifth foot, *i.e. rectā viā*; it follows that it can, as a rule, be placed only in the third foot, and we find in fact

¹ The proclisis of the demonstrative and relative pronouns in Latin, Umbrian, and Oscan is also indicated at times by the orthography of the Inscr., viz. *eamrim*, *eare*, *eaires*, *huncinerem* (Corssen, II, 879), *erfiveka* (Lat. *eas iuvencas*), *erernomneper* (pro eius nomine), *paeancensto* (quae incensa), cf. Corssen, II, 919; v. Planta, I, 599. For the conjunctions also proclisis is indicated in Umbrian by writing *ape* (= Lat. *ubi*, in meaning), and *pune*, Lat. *-cunde*, at times with the following word, as *apepesondro*, cf. Corssen, *ibid.* Especially often is the proclisis of the pronouns indicated in connection with *modus*, e.g. *huiusmodi*, *huiuscemodi*, *eiusmodi*, etc.; for *quodammodo*, *omnimodo*, (*nullomodo*) v. the lexicons, and for *ullomodo*, v. Cod. Bern. 83, Keil, *Suppl.* 180, 9.

several examples of its use in this place, viz. *Hec.* 177 *primós*
diés; *Hau.* 61 *pró deum átque hominúm fidém*; cf. *Tri.* 425
millé dráchúmárūm (numeral). In addition: *Syr. Sent.* 388
non ést turpis cicátrix; *Am.* 481 *decumó post méNSE*; *Hec.*
198 pro deum átque hominúm fidém (oct.); *Ep.* 249 *hominu⁴m*
me vís; cf. *Ba.* 968 *unó mendáció* (oct.); cf. *Phor.* 867 *sus-*
pensó² gradu. Cases of adj. + quadrisyllabic noun in the
verse-close, as *Hec.* 462 *una⁶ senténtia*; *Am.* 840 *sedatu⁶m*
cupídinem; 841 *cognatu⁶m concórdiam*; *As.* 298,— are in-
conclusive.

That the non-occurrence of the type is partly due to the verse-structure seems confirmed by the notable fact that the accent *trigintá-minas*, etc. (numeral + noun), which is attested by nearly all the Romance languages, also does not occur a single time in the definitely critical feet,¹ and we find only one example in these feet of the quantitative type *frātrēm-mēum* (*And.* 540 *gnatám tuam ét*; cf. *Ru.* 1341), although the occasional existence of this accent seems indicated by verse-closes like *pātrēm-mēúm* (*Men.* 750; *Mer.* 972; *Titin.* fr. 65; *Asin.* 64). Very serious difficulties, however, still remain; for the combination of iambic or cretic adjective + noun, i.e. *malá-manu*, *dexterá-manu*, is always avoided in the verse-close, and we find instead *dexterá retinéns manú*, *Cap.* 442, and the like; the only exception is the phrase *bond(n) fidé* *Tru.* 586; *Mo.* 670 (v. Luchs, *Studem. Stud.* I, 21, and Köhler, *I.I.*, 31). We must conclude then upon the whole that, in the case of adjective combinations, there is no sufficient evidence for the existence of an accent *malá manu*, except in the case of a few special phrases.

V. RELATION OF WORD AND VERSE-ACCENT.

The results reached in the preceding study afford a fresh proof of the frequent agreement which exists between word and verse-accent in the verse of Plautus. It is important,

¹ All the examples cited by Skutsch, *Forsch.* 163, involve the second arsis of the septenarius.

however, not to exaggerate the extent of this agreement and not to misinterpret its meaning. Thus at the present day we sometimes hear the belief confidently expressed that a complete or almost complete agreement of word and verse-accent will eventually be proved for Latin dramatic verse, and further, that all those kinds of verse which, like the dactylic hexameter, show serious disagreement, are artificial verse-forms in Latin. Such extreme views have little or no basis in fact, for both the agreement between word and verse-accent in Plautus is far from being complete on any scientific hypothesis, and the quantitative poetry of the Romans is a thoroughly genuine and national product.

IMPORTANCE OF QUANTITY. PROBLEM OF ICTUS.—It is difficult for the modern student—who has rarely, if ever, heard an exact quantitative pronunciation—to understand the unique importance which attaches to quantity in the pronunciation of the classical languages; and this general difficulty is vastly increased, so far as concerns the pronunciation of Latin, by the numerous special problems which Latin here presents. Hence many scholars have sought an escape from this difficulty by supposing that a strict observance of quantity formed no part of the original Latin language, but was adopted later by the educated Romans in consequence of Greek influence. The actual predominance of quantity, however, in the genuine Roman pronunciation—or, at least, in some widely prevalent form of this pronunciation—is indisputable. Not only has Latin inherited its system of quantity from I.-Eur. in an essentially unchanged form (Berthagna et Henry, *Manuel Védique*, p. 38), but under certain conditions Latin quantity is invariably accompanied by an important secondary product, viz. intensity; for any regular alternation of long and short syllables in Latin prose or verse, provided a careful enunciation of the quantities be employed, produces *naturally*¹ a rhythmic beat or ictus (*impressio*, Cic.

¹ The same view is taken by Vendryes, *L'intensité initiale*, Paris, 1902, p. 65, and, according to V., by Meillet, who writes “par suite de la prononciation naturelle des mots”; cf. also Uppgren, *Metrische Komposition d. Terenz*, Lund, 1901, 107 ff.

de Or. III, 48, 185; *percussio*, *ib.* III, 186; *quasi pulsus*, Quintil. IX, 4, 136), which approaches the value of a stress-accent,¹ or, to state the fact more briefly, variations in quantity

¹ In connection with Professor Bennett's attempt to show that 'ictus' was not identified with *elevatio vocis* 'before the fifth century' (*A.J.P.* XIX, 368 ff.; cf. also Vendryes, *l.l.*, 66), I cannot refrain from calling attention to a question of chronology involved in this claim. To obtain such a result, it is not only necessary to explain away many early testimonies, but also to assign a very late date to Terentianus Maurus, who says very clearly with respect to *arsis* and *thesis*, v. 1345: *parte nam attollit sonorem, parte reliqua deprimit*; v. 2249: (necesse est) *scandendo et illic (sc. in secundo loco) ponere adsuetam moram* (T. is discussing the principal ictuses of the trimeter). While T.'s date is not certainly known, according to the judgment of all the best recent authorities he is probably to be assigned to the close of the second century (Schultz, *Hermes*, XXII, 275 f.; Werth, *Jahrb.* Sp. XXIII, 295 ff., and preface to dissertation, Leipzig, 1896; Teuffel-Schwabe, *Köm. Lit.* II, 945; Schanz, *Köm. Lit.* III, 26); in addition, his statements are usually drawn from good early sources. In Greek also, references to the existence of a metrical ictus are not so rare as Professor Goodell appears to think in his recent book (*Greek Metric*, 156 ff.). Thus, besides Christ's examples of *κρονεύς* (*Metr.*, p. 50) and the frequent marking of the *στιγματα* in musical schemes (Gleditsch³, p. 322), Plutarch, *Dem.* 20, describes Philip after the battle of Chaeronea reciting the tetrameter verse *Δημόσθέτης Δευόσθένος, κτλ.*, dividing it into feet and beating time to it (*πρὸς πόδα διαιρῶν καὶ ὑποκρούων*); the author, *περὶ ψόφους*, c. 41, 2, states that the rhythmical clausulae of the orators often have the effect of dance-music upon their auditors, who sometimes cannot refrain from stamping their feet in time with the speaker (*ὑποκρονεύειν τοῖς λέγοντι καὶ . . . προαποδιδόνται τὴν βάσιν*). Similarly an ictus in the oratorical *cola* and *clausulae* is constantly affirmed by the ancients (Cic. *de Or.* III, 47, 182; *Or.* 18, 59; cf. Quintil. IX, 4, 31), and is assumed by all modern writers in this field. To the ancient testimonies upon the verse-accent cited by Hendrickson, *A.J.P.* XX, 198, add the very late Vergilius Grammat. Exc., K., *Suppl.*, 190, 12, who mentions an accent *regēs* 'secundum rationem metrorum.' At times the ancients do not appear to distinguish sharply between word and verse-accent, cf. Auson. *Ep.* XXII, 47; Cassiodor. *Var.* 9, 21, 3, and the striking use of *τόνος* in Greek to denote both word-accent and rhythmical cadence. Hence I am disposed to justify, against the objections of Crusius, *Litt. Centralbl.* 1891, 7, 213, the use which Klotz, *Grundz.* 269, 348, makes of Dionysius' *συλλαβὴ δέχτοντος* (*de Comp. Verb.*, c. 11) in questions relating to the ictus, and even suggest for comparison in part Dionysius' other statement (*de Admir. Vi Dem.* c. 48), that Demosthenes has produced wonderful 'melody' through the arrangement of 'sharps' and 'graves' in his *cola*. Since the ictus, in all poetical recitation, largely takes the place of the tone, such a lack of distinction, though inexact, is not wholly unnatural. Similarly, in his discussion of *votūcres* (I, 5, 28), Quintilian perhaps employs *syllaba acuta* 'inexactly' of the ictus; such at least is the view of some metricalians (e.g. Havet, *Métr.*⁴ § 491; Schöll, *De acc.*, p. 26), although the passage seems to me to admit of another interpretation (cf. Humphreys, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* VII, 109).

naturally produce variations in intensity. Hence Latin possesses, in all carefully enunciated quantitative sequences, a natural series of stress accents, and this series assumes many

Cf. also Cassiodor. *Var.* 2, 40: *naturalis rhythmus animatae voci cognoscitur attributus*: qui tunc *melos* pulchre custodit, si apte taceat, congruenter loquatur et per *accentus* viam musicis pedibus composita voce gradiatur; where *taceat* and *loquatur* are doubtless to be explained from Arist. *Q. de Mus.*, p. 31, 17 M. θρων καὶ θέσιν, ψύφον καὶ ἡρεμίαν. In addition to the passages usually quoted, a clear testimony upon the rhythmical accent in prose and verse is found in Sen., *de Brev. Vit.* 12: quid illi qui in conponendis, audiendis, dicendis canticis operati sunt: dum vocem cuius rectum cursum natura et optimum et simplicissimum fecit inflexu modulationis inertissimae torquent? quorum digiti aliquod intra se carmen metientes semper sonant. quorum, cum ad res serias adhibiti sunt, exaudita tacita modulatio. That the interpretation of Dionysius given above is correct, and that he refers to the 'ictus' in the Demosthenic melodies, appears to be confirmed by the very similar passages in which Lucian speaks of 'the beat and accent and melody of the Demosthenic rhythms,' 'the beat of the Demosthenic periods,' viz. *Dem. Encom.* 32 οἱ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ ρήτορες παιδά παραβάλλειν τῷ τούτῳ (sc. Δημοσθένους) κρότῳ καὶ τόνῳ καὶ λέξεων εὐρυθμίᾳ; *ib.* 15 Πυθέα δὲ ὁ κρότος τῶν Δημοσθενικῶν λόγων ἀπόξεν ἐφαίνετο τοῦ νυκτερικοῦ λύχνου. Cf. *Anthol. Planud.* 226, 5 ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ ρυθμοῖς κατὰ κρότον ἔνθεον ἔχος ρήσσεθω (description of a song accompanied by the pipe); according to Passow's Lex. **κρότος** is here "der Klang einer Rede, eines Gesanges"; in oratory, τὸ ἐπίκροτον τῶν λόγων is very aptly described by Herodes Atticus in Philostr. 539 Boiss. Somewhat late is the use of **ἰαμβόκροτος**, 'iambic-beaten,' in the meaning 'iambic,' 'in iambic rhythm,' viz. Niceph. in Walz, *Rhet.* I, 443 (*ἰαμβόκρότος λόγοις εἵρηκεν*, 'in iambic verses'); Planud. *ib.* 5, 450 (ὁ ρυθμὸς ἔστιν ὁ ποὺς ἥχος τοῦ λόγου, *ἰαμβόκροτος τυχὸν η ἐλεγεῖος*). So far as concerns the relation of word and verse-accent, this relation in Latin is undoubtedly largely one of similarity in kind; cf. Schöll, *De acc.*, 23. This fact is not only clear from the statement of Annianus ap. Gellius VI, 7, 4, and other similar passages named above, but is made even more obvious by the frequent employment of precisely the same terms in reference to both, viz. *modulari*, *modulatio*, *moderare*, *flectere*, etc. Thus in the well-known passage Cic. *Or.* 18, 58 *modulari* is employed of the word-accent: ipsa natura, quasi *modularetur* hominum orationem, in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem; cf. Mart. Cap. III, p. 65, 19 Eyss. On the other hand Quintilian (I, 10, 22) employs *modulatio* of the 'beat' which accompanies rhythm: ρυθμὸς . . . *modulatione* constat, and shortly afterwards (25) explains the meaning of *modulatio* more definitely by the terms *intentio vocis*, *remissio*, *flexus* (cf. Hendrickson, *A.J.P.* XX, 206). Both uses are found together in Victorinus VI, 206, 12 K.: *metrum est ratio cum modulatione*, *rhythmus sine ratione metrica modulatio*. plerumque tamen invenies rationem metricam in rhythmo, non artificii observatione servata, sed *tono* et *ipsa modulatione* ducente. Similarly Gellius (XIII, 6, 1) uses *moderamenta* of the word-accents, but Caesius Bassus (ap. Rufin. VI, 555 K.) *moderare* of the verse-accent: nisi percussione ita *moderaveris*. Again, *flectere*, *flexus*, etc., are constantly employed of the ictus (e.g. Quintil. I, 8, 1 quo flexu . . .

different forms corresponding with the various forms of metre employed. So much is perfectly clear, but since the Latin word-accent appears to have possessed from an early time an element of intensity (probably varying greatly in strength according to the quantitative relations, *i.e.* moderately strong in *cál(i)dus*, weak in *ūrbānī*; cf. L. Müller, *R.M.²* 468), it is evident that, unless we are able to explain away the internal evidence which the language affords in favor of an accent of intensity, we must admit the existence in Latin of a second series of quasi-stress accents.

SONG-LIKE RECITATION OF ANCIENT POETRY. EFFECT UPON QUANTITY AND WORD-ACCENT.—The difficult problem presented by the conflict which often arises in Latin poetry between these two series of accents has given rise to many discussions. Instead of attempting in this place a general treatment of the subject in the usual way, I wish to limit my inquiry to several definite and special questions, *viz.* What was the form of delivery adopted by the ancients in the recitation of their poetry? What was the probable effect of this delivery both upon the quantities and upon the word-accents? Although the Greek word-accent was, down to the beginning of our era, primarily a musical accent, and although its relation to the rhythmic accent has often been discussed in a general way (*e.g.* Westphal³, III, 31 f.; Christ², 55; Gleditsch³, 81 f.), I shall, for obvious reasons, include the recitation of Greek poetry in the present discussion, and make free use of the statements of Greek writers. The whole subject may be treated under two principal heads:

I. *Character of Poetical Recitation.*—In that part of their poetry which was sung, the Greeks, according to the well-

(dicendum), but Diomedes (I, 456, 18 K.) observes that whenever the inflections (*flexus*) of the voice come into play, the ‘accents’ come into play: *tenor in flexibus vocis servandus est; nam quaedam acuto tenore . . . desiderant enuntiari.* With reference to Greek usage, one must speak with extreme caution, and there is no express identification of the oxytone syllable with ictus to be found earlier than the mediaeval fragments of Pletho (fifteenth century); yet, as we have seen, Lucian joins *κρότος* and *τρόπος*, and a certain degree of similarity is indicated even for the classical period by the twofold use of *τρόπος* already mentioned. See further, *A.J.P.* XXV, 420 (421), n. 5.

known statement of Dionysius Hal. (*de Comp. Verb.*, c. 11), subordinated the usual pronunciation to the melody, and entirely disregarded the word-accent.¹ This statement is commonly thought to apply exclusively to song, and to have no bearing upon the poetry which was spoken or declaimed; but such a view can scarcely be correct, since all poetry was, in a certain sense, sung among the ancients, and 'declamation' appears to have differed in degree, and not in kind, from 'song.' This fact is often overlooked, and has scarcely received from metricians the attention which it deserves; for while the technical employment of song, recitative and declamation in the delivery of ancient poetry has often been carefully discussed,² one will seek in vain in our standard metrical works for any account of the real character of ancient 'declamation'; valuable notices of the subject are to be found, however, in several works of a more general character, viz. Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* III⁶, 337 f.; Teuffel-Schwabe, *Roman Lit.* I, § 34, 3; Grasberger, *Ersziehung u. Unterricht im*

¹ Cf. the description which Heliodorus (3, 3) gives of the rendering of a melody: *τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἐμμελέας περιῆν τοῖς χοροῖς, καὶ οὐτω συμβαίνων ὁ κρότος τοῦ βήματος πρὸς τὸ μέλος ἐρρυθμίζετο, ὡς κτλ.*; cf. 3, 2. There is evidently no retention of the word-accent here. On the other hand Schöll, *De acc.*, p. 18, wholly misapplies the *very late* scholiast on Dionys. Thrax, p. 830 Bk., in his attempt to prove that the Greek accent was sometimes observed in song. The scholiast belongs to a time when short syllables were lengthened by the word-accent (e.g. *αἰδον θεῖν*), and when, as he himself says, musical notes (*κρούσματα*) and word-accents were often made to agree. For the earliest examples of this tendency, v. Monro, *Modes of Greek Music*, p. 90.

² E.g. W. Christ, *Die Parakataloge im gr. u. röm. Drama*, Münch. 1875; *Metrik* 2, 676; Zieliński, *Cliederung d. att. Kōm.*, Lpz. 1885, 288–314. In general, Christ's views upon these questions seem to me much less correct than those of Zieliński; according to the latter, the Greek tragic trimeter was commonly rendered through recitative, the purely comic trimeter through the *ψιλὴ λέξις*. So far as concerns this last statement, its correctness depends upon the meaning given to *ψιλὴ λ.*, which in itself is an ambiguous term. If the absence of musical accompaniment alone is meant, no exception can be taken to the use of this term; but if it be meant that the recitation of the comic trimeter is 'mere speech' or 'mere declamation' in the modern sense (cf. *ψιλὴ φωνή*, Dion. H. *de Comp.* 11), and that it is unsupported by the *πλάσμα* or *πεπλασμένη ὑπόκρισις*, such a conclusion appears to me to be quite false; cf. Quintil. II, 10, 13; XI, 3, 183, and see esp. Klotz, *Grundz.* 381. The Latin equivalent of *ψιλὴ φωνή*, in still another sense, is *assa vox*, Non. pp. 76–77 M.

klass. *Alt.* 279 ff., 384 ff.; Norden, *Kunstprosa*, I, 55 ff.; cf. Murray, "Connection between Greek Music and Poetry," in *Studies in Honor of Professor Gildersleeve*, p. 205 ff.; O. Jahn, *Hermes*, II, 418 ff. A few ancient testimonies, several of which are not quoted in any of the works just named, but are of the same general character as these quotations, may be mentioned here: Quintilian (I, 8, 2) shows at some length that the reading of poetry in the schools should be different from the reading of prose (*non quidem prosae similis*), and should bear some resemblance to song (*carmen*); cf. *id.* I, 10, 29; Plin. *Ep.* IX, 34, 2; this was the regular custom of the schools in the reading of Vergil, Euripides, and other poets, cf. Macrob. *Sat.* I, 24, 6 (*canere*); Plut. *de Fort. Alex.* 5, p. 328 d (*ἀδειν*); Cassiodor. *Var.* 9, 21, 3 (*decantare*); Auson. *Ep.* XXII, 47 P. (*flexu et acumine vocis*).¹ Aristides Quint., who belongs to the fifth century A.D., but who often draws from authoritative early sources, expressly names a movement of the voice intermediate between song and speech, which is to be used in the reading of the poets (*de Mus.*, p. 7, 23 M: *μέση δὲ (κληνησις)*, *ἡ τὰς τῶν ποιημάτων ἀναγνώσεις ποιούμεθα*)²; this statement of Aristides is discussed in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXX, 48, by Dr. C. W. L. Johnson, who, after referring to the fact that the points of pitch must have been more stationary in this movement than in conversational utterance, reaches the conclusion that "the metrical quantity of the syllables must have been made more evident than is possible in the case of the spoken sentence"; similarly Nicomachus states that if, in any form of utterance, the quantities of the several tones are distinctly rendered and also the intervals, the voice passes naturally from speech to song (*Enchirid.*, p. 4 M. *εἰ*

¹ Christ, *Parakat.*, pp. 175, 222, cites still other passages as proof "für den Gebrauch des lateinischen *cantare* im Sinne eines blos rhythmischen Vortrags, nicht vollständigen Gesanges"; he is quite mistaken, however, in wishing to limit the term 'sing' in this rhythmical sense to Roman usage.

² We find this statement of Arist. fully reproduced in Mart. Cap. IX, p. 353 Eyss. (quoted by Jahn, *I.L.*, 421): continuum (genus vocis) est velut iuge conloquium, divisum quod in modulatione servamus. est et medium, quod in utroque permixtum ac neque alterius continuum modum servat nec alterius frequenti divisione praeceditur, quo pronuntiandi modo carmina cuncta recitantur.

γάρ τις . . . ἀναγινώσκων γε ἔκδηλα μεταξὺ καθ' ἔκαστον φθόγγου ποιεῖ τὰ μεγέθη, διυστάνων καὶ μεταβάλλων τὴν φωνὴν ἀπ' ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλον, ὁ τοιοῦτος . . . μελεάζειν λέγεται).¹ Herodotus repeatedly describes the Pythia as giving her responses (*λέγειν, χρᾶν*) in the hexameter or trimeter 'tune' ('musical mode,' 'cadence': *ἐν ἔξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ*, I, 47, etc.; *ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ*, I, 174²; cf. the similar use of *ἐντείνειν*), and Plato expressly ascribes both rhythm and musical modulation (*ἀρμονία* = Lat. *concentus*) to 'spoken' poetry (*Rep.* 397 *b*; 398 *d*), which he classifies under *μουσική* (*Rep.* 376 *e* ff.; *Phaed.* 60 *e* ff.). I may quote also the definition of prose given by Donatus (on Ter. *Eun.* 2, 3, 14) as 'that form of speech which is not modulated by song' (*prorsa oratio, quam non inflexit cantilena*). Further, although the ordinary recitation of poetry is usually indicated by the expressions 'speak,' 'read,' 'declaim,' we find the terms 'modulate' and 'sing' also at times in use (Friedländer, *l.l.*; Christ², 681), which imply the *μέσην κίνησιν* or *vox canora* (Petron., c. 59; 68; Gell. XVIII, 5, 2). From these and similar notices we may fairly draw the conclusion that no part of the elevated poetry of the ancients was intended for 'mere declamation' in the modern sense, that is, intended for the simple *συνεχῆς κίνησις* or speaking voice. The case is altogether similar with the chanting of the oratorical rhythms; here also the rhetor's voice adopted a movement intermediate between speech and song, as is expressly stated by Longinus (*Rhet.* I, 312, 14 Sp.), and is well attested for all periods of antiquity (Norden, *l.l.*). Finally, the view of

¹ Just before Nicom. writes: *τὸ δὲ ἔπειρον (γένος) τὸ συνεχὲς, καθ' ὅμιλοιμέντε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὐδεμίλαν ἔχοντες ἀνάγκην ἐμφανεῖς τὰς τῶν φθόγγων τάσεις (‘quantities’) καὶ διακεκριμένας ἀπ’ ἄλλήλων ποιεῖσθαι.*

² So also Joseph. *Ant.* II, 16, 4 (ἐν ἔξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ); Themist. *Or.* 2, p. 27 c. Suidas, s.v., has the plural: *Πιθικὸν ἦν προμάτευμα ἐν τόνοις ἔξαμέτροις*. Passow's Lex. explains *τόνος* in this use as "die Hebung im Verse u. das dadurch entstehende *Versmass*"; thus the word appears to be used in the threefold sense of musical tone (Sext. Emp. 757, 29 Bekk.), word-tone, and verse-tone. In Latin also we should probably follow Bährens and the early editors in reading in Stat. *Silv.* V, 3, 99: *quis . . . dulce vel heroos gressu truncare tenores*, 'to combine the curtailed pentameter with the accents of the hexameter'; the Ms. reading, *truncare leones*, which is retained by Vollmer (1898), appears to be corrupt and to yield no satisfactory meaning.

Christ and Westphal, that, in cases of conflict, the Greek musical accents were fully preserved in recitation, seems improbable; more likely is Gleditsch's view (*Metr.*³ 86) that they were preserved only in part ('*in gewissem Grade*').

2. *Probable Effects.*—The ancient Greeks and Romans had not passed that stage of development in which a rigorously exact rhythm is viewed as the chief essential of poetry (Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 82–115). Hence, as is well known, they required in poetical recitation such a scrupulous observance of the rhythm as can only be paralleled by the insistence of a modern audience upon correctness of tune in singing (Dion. H. *de Comp.* 11 *med.*; other references in Haigh, *Attic Theatre*², 309). To this end the long and short syllables which vary greatly in length in ordinary speech and do not exist, according to Westphal, in the form necessary for exact rhythm, must be measured more exactly in terms of the time-unit, the *χρόνος πρώτος*; especially must a long syllable be given approximately twice the value of a short one, the ratio which Aristoxenus (p. 18 W.) states existed in song, but which did not exist in speech according to Westphal (III³, 8 ff.). The careful enunciation which in this way becomes necessary for the rhythmizing of speech is often mentioned by the ancients. Thus Dionysius Thrax (first century B.C.) declares that 'prosody' must be observed in reading verse, and that the metrical art (*τέχνη*) of a poem is perceived through 'trained reading according to prosody' (*ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβής κατὰ προσῳδίαν*¹), where by 'prosody' is evidently meant such a precise rendering of the quantities, i.e. such an enunciation of the syllables in terms of the *χρόνος πρώτος*, as will produce rhythm²; cf. also Dion. H. *de Comp.* 11: ή δὲ ρυθμικὴ καὶ μουσικὴ μεταβάλλοντι (*τὰς συλλαβάς*), *μειοῦσαι καὶ αὔξουσαι, κτλ.* Similarly Dositheus, in his interesting account of the reading of verse in the schools, states that he was required to recite with *an observance of the rhythm* as well as of the pauses and clausulae (*Colloquia Scho-*

¹ *Ars*, § 1, Uhlig, p. 5.

² For the comprehensive meaning of *προσῳδία* in D., cf. *Suppl. vetust.*, Uhlig, p. 107, and also Jannaris, *A.J.P.* XXIII, 77.

last., Röder, p. 14: versus *ad numerum et distinctum et clausulam . . . reddo ad praceptorē*); cf. Quintilian's remarks upon *observatio* ('precision'), IX, 4, 104 and 95, and the frequent references to poetry as 'moulding' the pronunciation of the young (*e.g.* Hor. *Ep.* II, 1, 126 *as . . . figurat*). This 'moulded' pronunciation in its extreme form is the well-known *πλάσμα*, the use of which the ancients often¹ disapprove for the simpler metres (Quint. I, 8, 2; 11, 6), but require in the rendering of the more difficult rhythms (Christ², 90, 682; cf. Westphal³, III, 8). It is evident that the effect of a carefully moulded *προσῳδία* (cf. under 1 above) upon the word-accent must often have been very great; especially in the case of an accent which is partly expiratory like the Latin, and the variable quantity of many syllables in early Latin seems to result from this fact. Thus the final syllable of *dōmī*, under the influence of the word-accent, tended to shorten in popular speech, and is often so used by Pl. in the first foot, before the beating of the time was fully begun; but in those parts of the verse where the time was strictly observed this syllable has regularly the value of two *χρόνοι*, *i.e.* *domī*, and in this pronunciation the expiratory accent must have been practically wiped out (cf. V. Henry, *Comp. Gr.*², Eng. tr., p. 87; L. Müller, *R. M.*², 468)²; cf. *δημίττεbat* (where the verse-accent also assists in the

¹ Yet by no means always; for we find in the commentary ascribed to Probus (*Verg. Ecl.* p. 6): *Aeneida quoniam plasmate legi volebat, ait 'arma virumque cano.'* This whole discussion of Probus upon the form of poetical delivery (*pronuntiatio*) is highly suggestive, in spite of the arbitrary dictum that the *plasma* or singing delivery (*cantare*) is to be employed in a poem (only) from the point where the words *canere* or *carmen* first occur. It is noteworthy that the general teaching of the commentary agrees perfectly with the well-known statement of Gellius (VI, 7, 4) that Valerius Probus and his pupils accented *exdversum* in verse. For the meaning of *πλάσμα*, cf. Spalding on Quintil. I, 8, 2, who quotes some ancient authorities, and also the excellent modern definition of Salmasius: "vocem mollem et eliquatam, quae per omnes sonos intentionesque varietur." For numerous references to the abuse of this singing delivery, see Jahn, *L.*, 422, n. 1 and 2.

² At the same time the rhythmical tone falls upon the ultima. In a somewhat similar way Zieliński in his recent valuable work, *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*, Leipzig, 1904, reaches the conclusion that iambic words are oxytone in the oratorical rhythms, *e.g.* *forēnt*; cf. p. 239: "Immerhin ist zu betonen, dass für den rednerischen Accent die iambischen und anapästischen Wörter, im Gegensatz zur geläufigen Auffassung, Oxytona sind." This oxytonesis is of course not the

shortening) and *omittēbat*. In a similar way our ancient authorities recognize also for prose an easy and colloquial pronunciation, which is called *sermo*, or *oratio remissa* (Auct. ad Her. III, 13, 23), but they prescribe for elevated language an emphatic kind of utterance which involves a sustained effort of the voice and is called *contentio*, or *oratio acris* (Auct. ad Her. *ibid.*; Cic. *Off.* I, 37, 132; II, 14, 48, etc.); cf. *de Or.* III, 45, 177: non enim sunt alia sermonis, alia contentionis verba, . . . sed ea nos cum iacentia sustulimus e medio, sicut mollissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus et fingimus. This *contentio vocis*, or tense voice, passes readily over into the singing or modulated voice; cf. Cic. *Off.* I, 37, 133: sine contentione vox nec languida nec canora.

It is probable, then, that the limits of variable pronunciation have been sufficiently great in Latin to admit the existence of two distinct forms of pronunciation: 1) A formal and dignified pronunciation which is strictly quantitative, and which in its extreme form — the *μέση κίνησις* — usually possesses no appreciable stress-accent.¹ 2) An easy and

normal accent (*i.e.* Zieliński's 'Vulgāraccent'); for the popular speech pronounces *dómī*, with 'half-long' ultima, and hence, as is well known, the Romans do not admit in their poetry two iambic words in succession in the rhythmized form *domī*. Consequently I greatly prefer the form of statement adopted by Zieliński, p. 242: "Die quantitativ bevorzugte Silbe hatte die Tendenz, im Redefluss zu einer tonisch bevorzugten zu werden. . . . Vollends in der *rhythmischem* bewegten Rede lag die Versuchung nahe, die accentuirte Kürze vor der Länge zurücktreten zu lassen." On the other hand, I am not prepared to accept Zieliński's conclusions upon *facerént* as the sole form of the oratorical accent for anapestic words, since he himself hesitates greatly (p. 231) between the accents *facerént* and *fàcerént*. Finally, Zieliński's conjecture (p. 241 f.) that the '*oratorisch-poetischer Accent*' is identical with the archaic popular accent of the third century B.C., seems to me unnecessary; it is rather to be viewed as the accent which the rhythmizing process and a precise observance of quantity (*μέση κίνησις*) engender in the language of all periods. One very late ancient grammarian, Vergilius Maro (Keil, *Suppl.*, 190), actually professes to recognize in some form of Roman pronunciation the accents *régés*, *amā*, etc., but we can of course give little credence to such a source.

¹ Uppgren, *Metrisch. Komp. d. Ter.*, who has a general discussion of this subject, does not go so far, yet he writes (p. 113, n. 1): "Bei den verschiedenen Bewegungen innerhalb der konstanten Versbewegung kann doch gar recht diese Stimmhöhe . . . wenig oder schwach herausgehört worden sein, . . . wie solche Nebenbewegungen beim musikalischen Dirigieren immer eingehalten werden";

colloquial pronunciation, in which a weak stress-accent is developed at the expense of quantity.¹ All Roman poetry, since it is at once quantitative and a form of the *μέση κίνησις*, is based (with the exception of the unusual quantities in early Latin) solely upon the strict quantitative pronunciation; it is to be noted, however, that, under certain favorable quantitative conditions, an accentual pronunciation has been developed in the Latin language as a whole, and has greatly weakened all *short* syllables immediately preceding or following the accent, e.g. *génère*, *péctōre*, *àpērire*, etc.

LAW OF THE RELATION BETWEEN WORD AND VERSE-ACCENT.—In any case, whether the Latin accent be wholly musical, or, as seems more probable, in part also expiratory, it is certain that Latin possesses a single colloquial ‘cadence’ or ‘harmony,’ viz. the accentual² (Aristotle’s ἡ λεκτικὴ ἀρμονία, *Poet.* 6; Aristoxenus’s *λογιῶδες τι μέλος*, *Harm. Elem.* I, 17 W.); with the employment, however, of a stricter quantitative pronunciation and a special arrangement of the quantities, it acquires a score or more of metrical ‘cadences’ or ‘harmonies,’ such as the hexameter cadence (Hdt.’s ἔξαμετρος τόνος), pentameter cadence, Sapphic cadence, iambic trimeter cadence, etc. As is natural in different spheres of time and tone, the metrical cadences in general are entirely independent of the accentual cadence, but among them all there is one, the iambic, whose distinguishing characteristic in both Greek and Latin, as we know from many ancient testimonies,³

cf. above, p. 54 ff. Perhaps we can only say with certainty that the word-accents were very greatly weakened; for so good an authority as Hanssen writes (*Zur lat. u. roman. Metrik*, Valparaiso, 1901, p. 51): “Es können ohne die geringste Schwierigkeit in einem und demselben Verse zwei rhythmische Strömungen neben einander hergehen.” Cf. also Christ,² 59, Schöll, *De acc.*, p. 25 ff., and Professor Hale, *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXIV (1895), p. xxix. It is certain, however, that the verse-tone is the predominant tone in all cases where the words are properly rhythimized.

¹ These variant pronunciations explain the well-known fact that Greek loan-words often assume a double form in Latin, one form showing a retention of the Greek accent, as *Philippus* (Pl.), *tyrannus* (Sergius, IV, 528 K.), cf. *Apollinis* (Ἀπόλλων), the other a retention of the Greek quantity, as *Philippus*, *tyrannus*.

² Cf. Cic. *Or.* 17, 57: est etiam in dicendo quidam cantus obscurior.

³ Arist. *Poet.* 4 fin.; *Rhet.* 3, 8; Demetrius, π. ἐρυ. 43; Hephaestion, p. 19

is to approach more closely than the rest to the tone of colloquial speech.¹ Hence it is not surprising that the poet or poets who arranged the Latin iambic and determined its *original form*, imposed upon it the law that it should agree with the accentual cadence in the pronunciation of *génère*, *ἀρένη*, etc.,² and doubtless also in the phenomena of the dipodic law; further, since the popular iambic cadence tends to be associated more or less closely in the Roman mind with the accentual cadence, it is possible that the popular poets, even *after* the determination of the original verse-form, tended, in some measure, to prefer agreement to disagreement in *neutral cases*, *i.e.* in those cases where disagreement was not the *usage* of the verse (in the manner explained below). Such a tendency as this last would, however, be contrary to the usual rule of Latin verse, and its existence must consequently be considered doubtful.³

Finally, we may state the general law which appears to have governed Latin verse in its relation to accent. The Latin metrical cadences or verse-forms were originally constituted entirely without reference to accent, and solely in accordance with metrical laws; no sooner, however, had they assumed a definite form in this way than they began to

W.; Aristid. Q., p. 38, 19 M.; Cic. *Or.* 55, 184; 56, 189; 57, 191; 58, 196, etc.; Hor. *A. P.* 81; Quintil. IX, 4, 75 f.—Some of these passages are cited by Christ², 315.

¹ Yet even here the *πλάσμα* was employed to some extent, as is expressly stated for the comic *iambic trimeter* by Quintilian, XI, 3, 183: *pronuntiatio gestulationibus molesta et vocis mutationibus resultans*; cf. also Klotz, *Grundz.* 381.

² See the really excellent discussion of the verse-accents *génere*, *cörpore*, in Klotz, *Grundz.* 268–280.

³ The most general principle that can be stated here is that, after the determination of the norm, *any* considerable deviation, whether favorable or unfavorable to the accent, was a departure from literary usage and, to that extent, a vulgar usage; see the striking examples cited by Munro. The literary language is especially careful to avoid too close an approach to the accentual cadence (the ordinary tone), as is clearly implied in Cicero's statement, *Or.* 55, 184; cf. Christ², p. 59. On the other hand, popular poetry must not be entirely removed from the spoken tone, and the iambic poets have perhaps sought to avoid a *succession* of disagreements (*continuatio oxytonarum vocum*) in the neutral parts of the verse; for the usage of Phaedrus, cf. Langen, *Rhein. Mus.* XIII, 198.

respond to the influence of the accent in accordance with a simple psychological law. In view of the uniformity of the Latin accentual system, the result of observing the metrical rules was to produce at certain points of almost every cadence 1) agreement of accent and ictus in the great majority of cases, 2) disagreement of accent and ictus in the great majority of cases. Wherever this result is brought about, the Roman ear is quick to note the relation which usually exists, and to require in the end, *i.e.* in the course of the historical development, that it shall *always* exist, that is, to require that the agreement or disagreement shall be made invariable; in other words, the Roman ear *remembers* the hexameter or the Sapphic or the trimeter cadence at certain points by the relation which it bears to the accentual cadence, which is its simplest and most familiar standard of measurement. In those more numerous parts of the verse, however, where no usual relation between accent and ictus was established, but the effect of observing the metrical rules was to produce sometimes agreement and sometimes disagreement, the metrical cadence remained wholly unchanged, wholly unaffected by the accent, so long as the Roman quantitative system endured.

What relation, it will be asked, does the explanation just given of the development of Latin verse bear to the views of Ritschl and his numerous followers? So far as concerns cases of agreement in caesurae and in verse-closes, this explanation agrees with Ritschl's in recognizing the fact that the agreement has been brought about through the influence of the accent, but differs from Ritschl's in holding that agreement is not sought *per se*, but in consequence of familiar association. So far as concerns cases of disagreement in caesurae and in verse-closes, the divergence from Ritschl's view is still greater. For Ritschl, as is well known, started from the assumption that the Roman poets found actual pleasure in the agreement of ictus and accent, and hence sought to produce this agreement as often as possible. So acute an observer did not, however, fail to recognize that the Romans had unmistakably sought to produce disagreement

also in many parts of their verse, e.g. while agreement is sought in the second half of the dactylic hexameter, disagreement is required in the first half of the same verse. Hence, in a well-known passage of his writings (*Opusc.* II, Leipzig, 1868, p. xii), Ritschl sought to explain this latter fact by his famous assertion that the special charm of ancient verse lay in the balancing of agreement and disagreement, in the production of an '*harmonische Disharmonie*'. According to this theory, after having sought agreement in one part of the verse for the pleasure which it gave, the Romans next sought with pleasure ('*suchten mit Wohlgefallen*') to produce disagreement, in order to contrast the two parts of the verse, and seemingly also (though this is not expressly stated) in order exactly to balance the two opposing forces, quantity and accent. Every one will recognize that Ritschl in this account has truly and graphically described an *effect* which has been actually produced in many kinds of Latin verse; at the same time the *process*, through which this effect has come about, is explained in a quite impossible manner, or rather is left in large measure wholly unexplained. For how could the Romans seek agreement with pleasure, and then for the sake of an abstraction, such as 'balance' or 'contrast,' seek with pleasure—disagreement? In point of fact, neither aesthetic pleasure nor aesthetic pain plays any part in this process, which is purely a psychological matter of association.

It remains to note that the general law of the accentual development of Latin verse, which I have given above in my own language, was first clearly stated by an eminent American metriacist and a former student of Ritschl's, Professor M. W. Humphreys, in a careful study published in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* IX (1878), pp. 39–58.¹ The article in question deals chiefly with cases of agreement in the dactylic hexameter, but the same principle is expressly applied

¹ And still earlier in the dissertation, *Quaest. metr. de accentus momento in versu heroico*. Lips. 1874. See also the able paper of H. A. J. Munro, *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, Vol. X (1864), pp. 374–402. Humphreys and Munro reach quite independently precisely the same conclusions respecting the influence of the accent upon Latin verse.

in one passage to the explanation of cases of disagreement (p. 40). Again, Professor Humphreys has limited his rule in its formal statement to the dactylic hexameter, but I cannot doubt that he regarded it as applicable to other Latin verse-forms also.¹ Since Professor Humphreys' solution of this difficult problem leaves none of the phenomena unexplained, and is in accord, as he has very fully shown, *with the historical development of Latin verse*, it seems probable that it needs only to be better known to supersede in this field the less complete and less carefully constructed theories of Ritschl and of Meyer.²

¹ Professor Humphreys does in fact state his conclusions in a more general form, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* VII, 112.

² *Addenda*:

P. 53, n.—For supposed cases of the use of the *apex* in Latin Inserr. to denote the ictus, v. Christiansen, *De apicibus*, p. 20.

P. 56, n. 2.—The interpretation which I place upon the phrase ὁ ἔξ. τόνος requires perhaps to be more distinctly stated. In my judgment ὁ ἔξ. τόνος is the hexameter *mode*, and is parallel to the Lydian *mode*, the Phrygian *mode*, and the like. The spoken tone also belongs, as the ancients often recognize in a general way, among the musical modes, but, in the chanting or intoning of verse, it is regularly made subordinate to the new mode which accompanies the verse. If this interpretation of τόνος is correct, there will be found no real inconsistency in the various references which I have made to the meaning of the term; cf. also *A.J.P.* XXV, 420 (421), n. 5.

P. 59 (60), n. 1.—Compare the somewhat similar views of Goodell, *Chapters in Greek Metric*, New York, 1901, p. 167 f. Several other topics mentioned in the preceding discussion are also very clearly treated by Professor Goodell, viz. the elasticity of syllabic quantity (pp. 100, 112), the strict observance of rhythm (p. 125), the use of πλάσμα (p. 129, etc.). Professor Goodell is quite right in rejecting (p. 125) Westphal's doctrine of "a sharp separation between the rhythm of song and that of spoken verse"; on the other hand he appears to rely too much in his exposition upon modern parallels (p. 128), and to take too little account of the very important change which has taken place within historical times in the usual method of poetical delivery, although, to be sure, we find πλάσμα aptly defined (p. 50) as "the more exact observance of rhythm that goes naturally with the singing voice."